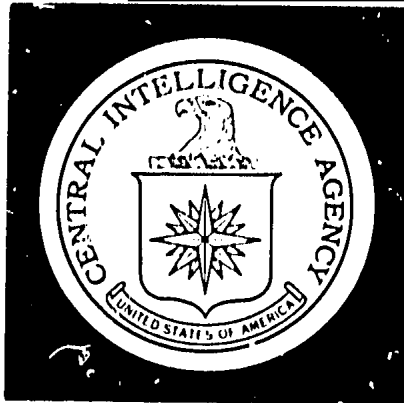


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# Intelligence Memorandum

*India-Pakistan: To Invade or not To Invade*

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State Department review completed

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
Directorate of Intelligence  
6 August 1971

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

India-Pakistan: To Invade or not to Invade

Introduction

On 24 May Prime Minister Gandhi told parliament that "there can be no military solution to the problem of East Bengal." She characterized the Indians as a "people dedicated to peace and not given to talking in terms of war or threat of war." At the same time, however, she warned, "If the world does not take heed, we shall be constrained to take all measures as may be necessary to ensure our own security."

Both before and since, Mrs. Gandhi has made similar statements. Although denying that India will embark on any "adventures," she has expressed sympathy for Bangla Desh, has complained of the absence of international pressure on Pakistan, and has made it clear that India may take unilateral action--presumably an invasion of East Pakistan--but only if it becomes necessary and only after consideration of all the repercussions.

In reaching her decision on whether to invade, Mrs. Gandhi will be presented with conflicting advice based on a wide variety of factors. Privately, she sympathizes with those who advocate intervention, but she will nevertheless act cautiously and may well decide against military action as long as she believes India has an alternative.

Note: This memorandum was prepared by the Office of Current Intelligence and coordinated within CIA.

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